

Mr. Jefferson's motto was "equal rights for all, special privilege for none." He cut in half the nation's foreign embassies, laid off half the little army, began to sell off the western lands to homesteaders, repealed all domestic taxes, and abolished the equivalent of the Internal Revenue Service.

Mr. Jefferson's first budget dedicated 70% of the government's revenues to paying off the national debt. The amount remaining for current expenses was less than what was spent by the national government in any year since 1793. He sent out his commissars to "hunt out and abolish multitudes of useless offices." Now there was a true decentralist hero!

But even before the end of his two terms, Mr. Jefferson had been forced to backtrack from this auspicious beginning. He had to revive the Navy—without Congressional authorization—to confront the Barbary pirates. He swallowed hard and committed the new nation to the purchase of the huge Louisiana Territory.

Nonetheless, thanks to the wise policies of his Treasury Secretary Albert Gallatin, the national debt was in fact paid off completely in the year 1835.

But as the new nation grew and prospered in the first half of the 19th century, the forces of centralization gathered steam. With the growth of invention came the rapid growth of industrialization. Industrialization required capital. The result was what came to be called Finance Capital, interwoven, often corruptly, into the fabric of the state and national governments.

The greatest impetus toward centralization in America was the War Between the States. This is not the time or place to recount the centralizing effects of President Lincoln's administration, but suffice it to mention conscription, total war against civilian populations, suspension of habeas corpus, arbitrary rule over the conquered states, and the nationalization of money and banking.

On the positive side of the ledger, the war did destroy the Slave Power, but the victors tragically failed to deliver on the empowering promises they made to the new black citizens of the South.

Half a century later the writer Randolph Bourne was to observe pithily, "War is the health of the State". It was proven again in his day, when the Wilson administration laid the modern foundation for the all powerful Federal leviathan. That era gave us, again, participation in a bloody war, conscription, the income tax, the final nationalization of money, the sedition act, the interweaving of Big Business and government, and the beginning of J. Edgar Hoover and the ruthless invasion of civil liberties.

By the time of the Great Depression the pattern was well established. As Robert Higgs has documented, every crisis called forth more centralized governmental power. This economic crisis, caused largely by grievous mistakes by the new Federal Reserve Board and an oppressively protectionist tariff law, disappeared only with the onset of the greatest war in our history.

As government grew, business used its influence to get government to create new private fortunes. The rapacity of finance capital called forth the organization of what has now become Big Labor. In due course the trend toward giantism has given us Big Media, Big Religion, Big Education, Big Medicine, and a big and all powerful Judiciary.

To this centralizing trend, dating back a century and a half, there have been many honorable dissenters. The honor roll begins with Jefferson and Jackson, curiously the alleged patron saints of today's Democratic Party. It drew on the genius of such dissimi-

lar men as Ralph Waldo Emerson and John C. Calhoun, Fighting Bob LaFollette and Louis D. Brandeis. It included the valiant Loco Focos, the early Populists and Western Progressives, the followers of Henry George, the anarchists and cooperators, the homestead movement and the Southern agrarians.

Years ago I remember the thrill of discovering a yellowed copy of the magazine called *Free America*, the journal of the distributist movement of the late 1930s. Its credo might serve us still today:

"Free America stands for individual independence and believes that freedom can exist only in societies in which the great majority are the effective owners of property and in which group action is democratic. In order to achieve such a society, ownership, production, population and government must be decentralized. Free America is therefore opposed to finance-capitalism, fascism, and communism."

To that movement from the past must be now be added many newer voices. They include the many local currency movements represented here this weekend; the communitarians of the American Association for Rights and Responsibilities; the various libertarian groups; the "new Democrats" of the Democratic Leadership Council and the "old rightists" of the Republican Liberty Caucus; the Civil Society Project and the New Citizenship Project; the groups of all races working for neighborhood renewal in our inner cities and rural renewal in the countryside; and even many of the spontaneously formed groups bearing the honorable name of the militia.

To these must be added the names of rising political philosophers like Michael Sandel and Robert Putnam, and technofuturists like George Gilder and Nicholas Negroponte.

Indeed, in the magazines of the cyberworld articles regularly appear showing how the rise of the Internet and readily available cryptography mean the defeat of the institutions of centralized power, just as perestroika laid the groundwork for the rapid dissolution of the late unlamented Soviet Union. That of course is the reason why the government is trying desperately to gain policing authority over the Internet, and to suppress the distribution of crypto systems the government cannot penetrate.

When we survey the sweep of American history, it is easy to become despondent about the march of giantism and centralized power. We mourn the inexplicable absence of a bold leaders to force the issue of centralization and decentralization on the national public. Many of us are doubtless disgusted with the major party candidates for President, both of whom seem committed to preserving and enlarging the central power, albeit for different ends.

I daresay most of us here today share the sentiments of an out of work politician who said, back in 1978, that the real issue is not the opposition of Left and Right. "The real issue," he said, "is how to reverse the flow of power to ever more remote institutions, and to restore that power to the individual, the family, and the local community. Millions of Americans, in both the small towns and great cities of this land, are steadily coming to the same conclusion."

Three years later that man was President of the United States. Although I can think of nothing his administration did to reflect those sentiments, I can assure you that Ronald Reagan sincerely believed in what he said on that radio broadcast. So too, I think, do many millions of Americans subscribe to that incisive sentiment, although they would describe themselves politically in many diverse and conflicting ways.

Out in the western part of Kansas, bordered by waving fields of grain, is an old two

lane highway. Once it was the great Route 66, America's mightiest highway, the mainline from Chicago to the Golden West. No longer do the eighteen wheelers speed over its pitted concrete; no longer do the Harleys and travel trailers push forward to new adventures.

Old Route 66 is abandoned now; the heavy traffic zooms by on I 70 to the north and I 40 to the south. Even the local small town traffic has passed it by. The prairie grass has grown up through the cracks forced open by decades of exposure to sun and wind.

But just as that soft, flexible grass has pushed through the hard, heavy concrete under the hot Kansas sun, the spirit of decentralism, often paved over and ignored, always returns to bring about a new beginning. We may not know quite what form it may take, or what will fertilize its growth; but we know it is there, in the hearts and minds of common people everywhere. All overgrown institutions and centralized tyrannies fear it. It can be and is suppressed, but it cannot be destroyed. We are on the side of history, and though it may not always be apparent, we are winning.

John McClaughry is chairman of the E.F. Schumacher Society and president of the Ethan Allen Institute, a state public policy think tank in Kirby, Vermont. From 1980 to 1982 he was Senior Policy Advisor to Gov. and President Ronald Reagan. He later served as a state Senator and was the 1992 Republican candidate for Governor of Vermont.

#### TRIBUTE TO HUGH WYATT

HON. EDOLPHUS TOWNS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1996

Mr. TOWNS. Mr. Speaker, Hugh Wyatt, born and reared in Atlanta, GA, has been involved with the media virtually all his life. At the age of 9, he was submitting articles to local papers. He later founded the Atlanta Inquirer along with such notables as Julian Bond. With the vast amount of knowledge he acquired during his early years, Mr. Wyatt, at age 25, created the Inner-City Broadcasting Corp. with Carl McCall, New York State Comptroller; David Dinkins, former Mayor of New York City; and Percy Sutton, former Borough President of Manhattan. At age 35, he continued to enlighten readers with his editorial columns at two of New York City's major newspapers—the New York Daily News and the Amsterdam News.

In 1986, Mr. Wyatt reached a pivotal point in this life when he founded the Medical Herald, a national newspaper circulated throughout the United States including Hawaii and Puerto Rico. I am pleased to recognize this outstanding journalist and to introduce him to my House colleagues.

#### SALUTE TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL NATHAN THOMAS

HON. MARTIN OLAV SABO

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1996

Mr. SABO. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to salute Lt. Col. Nathan Thomas, a Minneapolis constituent and member of the Minnesota

Army National Guard, who was recently named a recipient of the Roy Wilkins Renown Service Award presented by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People [NAACP] during its annual conference in Charlotte, NC.

Colonel Thomas was cited by the NAACP for his accomplishments in the military on behalf of the African American community. During the past several years he has focused his efforts on recognizing the contributions and positive role of the African American soldier, and providing young people with alternatives to gang membership and violent behavior.

Colonel Thomas has developed a video and teaching guide that traces the historical contributions of the brave and determined African American buffalo soldiers during the late 1800's. Using the buffalo soldiers as a cornerstone, he has founded a nonprofit corporation in the Minneapolis/St. Paul area that is committed to assisting at-risk children in developing self-respect and social survival skills.

For the past 10 years, Colonel Thomas has spent part of his vacation-time teaching photography and life-skills to inner-city, African American teenagers. He has even met with gang members to assist them in developing positive self-images and respectful views of other men and women.

Mr. Speaker, it is with great pleasure that I rise today to recognize Lt. Col. Nathan Thomas. I ask my colleagues to join me in congratulating him for his contributions, and in wishing him success in all his future endeavors.

#### TRIBUTE TO U.S. SUPREME COURT ASSOCIATE JUSTICE JOHN PAUL STEVENS

HON. GEORGE W. GEKAS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1996

Mr. GEKAS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring your attention to the following tribute presented by United States Administrative Law Judge John C. Holmes. Judge Holmes had the honor of introducing United States Supreme Court Associate Justice John Paul Stevens when Justice Stevens received an award of merit from the Federal Administrative Law Judge Conference on May 4, 1996.

I have found Judge Holmes' remarks to be a fitting tribute to the distinguished career and character of Justice Stevens. It is, therefore, with great honor that I present to you the following.

Born April 20, 1920 in Chicago, Illinois, John Paul Stevens graduated from the University of Chicago, Phi Beta Kappa, majoring in English Literature. After serving three years with distinction in the U.S. Navy during World War II, he received a law degree from Northwestern University in 1947, magna cum laude, where he was law review editor and order of the coif. He not only graduated first in his class, but received the highest record of academic achievement in the school's history.

He first came to Washington and the Supreme Court in October, 1947 where he served as clerk to Associate Justice Wiley Rutledge.

Returning to Chicago he joined the law firm of Poppenhusen, Johnston, Thompson and Raymond. Hired at the same time was Ed Rothschild, who he hadn't previously

met. Mr. Rothschild relates that the first duty required was the burying of Mr. Poppenhusen who died shortly after hiring them both. The two shortly formed the firm of Rothschild, Stevens, Barry and Myers. Then attorney Stevens specialized in anti-trust and appellate litigation, and had the reputation of analyzing and articulating complex problems in such a fine tuned manner that the result would appear obvious. Mr. Rothschild remembers the Justice as fiercely competitive in all that he did, but adds, "I still beat him at tennis."

Justice Stevens was appointed by President Nixon to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 7th Circuit on October 14, 1970. He was appointed by President Ford as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court and took office on December 17, 1975. A prime sponsor was then Attorney General Levi, also an alumnus of the Chicago area, who described Judge Steven's 7th Circuit opinions as "gems of perfection and a joy to read".

Prior to his appointment to the bench, Justice Stevens served on numerous committees, for example as counsel to the House Judiciary Committee, and as a member of the Attorney General's Committee to study the Anti-Trust laws. He has served on the faculty at Northwestern and Chicago Law Schools and lectured at Salsburg and New York Un. Law Schools, authored numerous articles and reviews and been an active member of the American Bar Association, Federal Bar Association, American Law Institute and American Judicature Society.

Besides being an accomplished, competitive tennis player, he is an excellent bridge player, having acquired numerous Master Points, an avid golfer and enjoys the opportunity to read and travel.

220 years ago, a great experiment was launched in government from the Eastern shores of this continent in what was otherwise a vast undiscovered virgin land far removed from the feuding and too often tyrannical governments of Europe. Our founding fathers had the profound wisdom to combine an idealistic notion that people could govern themselves through their representatives with the contrasting cynical observation that human nature required that there be checks and balances to prevent undue acquisition of power in one individual or group. And so after much debate they wrote a Constitution that provided for the separation of powers in three branches of government. It was left to the third branch, the Judiciary, to not only settle disputes between parties but also to set the parameters and limitations of the other two branches. At the pinnacle was established a Supreme Court of the United States whose duty it became to interpret the provisions of the Constitution and their application to the ever changing nature of society. The Constitution has served us well; we need only to look at other failed governments and governmental systems, most recently communism, to appreciate the benefits conferred and the freedom provided under it. It has endured as the country has fulfilled its manifest destiny, ended slavery, fostered the industrial and now the technology revolutions, evolved from a rural to an urban society and changed enormously in many other ways. In order to preserve this "living" Constitution a sacred trust is conferred by the today 250 million people of the United States on only nine individuals who have been elevated to the high calling of Justice of the Supreme Court. This sacred trust does not demand that we agree with every idea and interpretation uttered by any one Justice, that would be impossible. But it does require a consistent and conscientious effort by each Justice to place the nation's interest as embodied in the Constitution above all else.

Mr. Justice, you have faithfully fulfilled that sacred trust in the finest manner. For over 20 years now you have applied your wisdom, scholarship and especially integrity to the process of determining and articulating how the concepts as expressed in the Constitution should be applied to the ever changing conditions and circumstances of today's society while still preserving its essential meaning. You have always voted as you believed was right for the country and not necessarily what was currently fashionable. Whether in the majority, in dissent or in concurrence you have used that ability to articulate complex problems into an easily understood and compelling opinion. You have not only served the longest tenure other than Justice Rehnquist on the current Court, but have been the most prolific opinion writer. You have demonstrated a pattern of independent voting concerned more with clear enunciation of believed principles rather than compromise, an overriding belief that the Constitution should be utilized to protect the rights of those who traditionally have been powerless, and an unwillingness to sacrifice constitutional values in the name of administrative convenience. In this highest calling you have served in the highest manner. Your work on the Court has earned you a special place of honor along with the likes of Holmes, Brandeis, Harlan, Frankfurter, Black and others stretching back to John Marshall.

We are in the same business, Mr. Justice. We honor you tonight not only for your lifetime accomplishments but for your qualities of wisdom, judicial demeanor, intelligence, integrity and passion for justice that we all aspire to. You are a model of what the citizenry rightfully requires of the judiciary. Importantly, by your acceptance of our award, you honor us and the work we do as independent administrative law judges. Ladies and Gentlemen please welcome the 1996 Federal Administrative Law Judge Conference honoree, United States Supreme Court Associate Justice John Paul Stevens.

#### RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN KUWAIT

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1996

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, a constituent of mine, Paul Bennett of New Albany, IN, contacted me in June on behalf of Robert Hussein, Kuwaiti citizen who converted to Christianity.

I wrote to the Kuwaiti Ambassador, to express Mr. Bennett's and my own concern for Mr. Hussein's safety, and in support of his right to practice the religion of his choosing. In his July 25 response, Ambassador Al-Sabah informs me that the "Government of the State of Kuwait has stated publicly that it will guarantee Mr. Hussein's safety."

I would like to bring my correspondence with Ambassador Al-Sabah on this matter to the attention of my colleagues:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Washington, DC, June 17, 1996.

His Excellency MOHAMMED SABAH AL-SALIM AL-SABAH,  
Ambassador, Embassy of the State of Kuwait,  
Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR: I write with respect to the civil court decision of May 29, 1996 and apostasy declaration against Kuwaiti citizen Hussein Qambar (Robert Hussein) and the judge's statement that Mr. Hussein "should be killed."